

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 170055  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA:ALATHERTON, JR./HLK  
APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY  
S/S:PTARNOFF  
NSC - MS. DODSON  
S/S-O:JETHYDEN

-----008665 210232Z /65

O P 210207Z JUL 77 ZFF6  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 170055

NODIS  
FOR AMBASSADORS FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, US

SUBJECT: BEGIN VISIT

REF: STATE 168595

1. FOLLOWING IS FULLER REPORT ON BEGIN VISIT PROMISED  
REFTEL, WHICH YOU SHOULD CONVEY AT HIGHEST POSSIBLE LEVEL  
TO HOST GOVERNMENTS.

2. AT THE BEGINNING OF THEIR TALKS, PRESIDENT CARTER  
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 170055

REVIEWED IN DETAIL, ALONG LINES FAMILIAR TO HOST GOVERNMENTS,  
THE U.S. VIEWS ON THE THREE SUBSTANTIVE CORE ISSUES OF  
A MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT: THE NATURE OF PEACE; WITH-  
DRAWAL, FINAL BORDERS AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS; AND THE  
PALESTINIAN QUESTION. HE ALSO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF  
PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE TO OUR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS AND OUR  
DETERMINATION TO REMAIN ACTIVE IN OUR GOOD OFFICES ROLE.  
HE EMPHASIZED THAT OUR GOAL REMAINS A COMPREHENSIVE, FINAL  
PEACE SETTLEMENT. WHILE BEGIN DID NOT INDICATE ANY CHANGE  
IN ISRAEL'S POSITIONS ON THESE ISSUES, HE AGREED THAT ALL

PARTIES COULD PUT FORWARD THEIR POSITIONS AT GENEVA AND THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM DISCUSSION. THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER RECOGNIZED THAT DIFFERENCES REMAIN BETWEEN OUR RESPECTIVE VIEWS ON THE TERRITORIAL AND PALESTINIAN QUESTIONS WHICH COULD NOT BE RESOLVED IN THESE TALKS BUT ALSO AGREED THAT THE IMPORTANT THING WAS TO GET A NEGOTIATING PROCESS STARTED IN WHICH THE PARTIES THEMSELVES COULD SEEK TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES. IN THE CONTEXT OF SUCH A PROCESS, THE U.S. WOULD CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS TO HELP THE PARTIES REACH AGREEMENT.

3. BEGIN FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON DESCRIBING ISRAELI PROPOSAL WHICH HE CALLED A FRAMEWORK FOR THE PEACEMAKING PROCESS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS AND WHICH HE SUBSEQUENTLY DISCUSSED IN DETAIL IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON. AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY INDICATED, THIS IS A PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL. IT ENVISAGES RECONVENING GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE BASIS OF RESOLUTIONS 338 AND 242 WITH PARTICIPANTS TO CONSIST OF DELEGATIONS OF THE SOVEREIGN STATES OF ISRAEL, EGYPT, SYRIA AND JORDAN. BEGIN SAID IF THERE WERE A PROPOSAL FOR LEBANON TO JOIN CONFERENCE, ISRAEL WOULD AGREE. HE ALSO SAID ISRAEL WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO TO GENEVA OCTOBER 10, 1977. THE SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 170055

CONFERENCE WOULD BE CONVENED WITHOUT PRIOR CONDITIONS AND, AFTER AN OPENING PUBLIC SESSION, THREE "MIXED COMMISSIONS" WOULD BE ESTABLISHED: AN EGYPTIAN-ISRAEL, SYRIAN-ISRAELI, AND JORDANIAN-ISRAELI COMMISSION. THE COMMISSIONS, WHOSE CHAIRMANSHIP WOULD BE ROTATED BETWEEN THE TWO PARTICIPATING PARTIES, WOULD NEGOTIATE PEACE TREATIES WHICH WOULD SUBSEQUENTLY BE SIGNED IN A PUBLIC SESSION OF THE PLENARY CONFERENCE.

4. BEGIN MADE CLEAR THAT IF THE CONFERENCE COULD NOT BE CONVENED BECAUSE OF INSISTENCE THAT THE PLO BE ADDED TO THE SOVEREIGN STATE DELEGATIONS AND ISRAEL'S REFUSAL TO AGREE TO THIS, THEN ISRAEL WAS PREPARED TO RECONSIDER ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF NEGOTIATING -- E.G., ESTABLISHING THE THREE MIXED COMMISSIONS THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE U.S., OR HOLDING "PROXIMITY TALKS" FOR THE CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS.

5. WE TOLD BEGIN WE WELCOMED ISRAEL'S DECLARED INTENTION TO BEGIN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 FOR AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT. AT THE SAME TIME WE MADE NO COMMITMENT TO NOR DID WE ENDORSE THE DETAILS OF BEGIN'S PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL, AND THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT TO HIM THAT THE DIFFERING ARAB AND ISRAELI VIEWS ON PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION REMAIN AN OBSTACLE WHICH WE MUST SEEK TO OVERCOME. AT THE SAME TIME, THE PRESIDENT PUBLICLY EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THESE TALKS

AND HIS EARLIER MEETINGS WITH ARAB LEADERS HAD HELPED  
LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR RECONVENING GENEVA IN OCTOBER  
BUT THAT DIFFICULTIES REMAINED WHICH WOULD NEED TO BE

DEALT WITH DURING SECRETARY'S FORTHCOMING MIDDLE EAST  
TRIP. (SEE WIRELESS FILE FOR PRESIDENT'S REMARKS TO  
PRESS FOLLOWING MEETING WITH BEGIN WEDNESDAY MORNING AND  
WHITE HOUSE PRESS SPOKESMAN'S SUBSEQUENT RESPONSES TO  
FOLLOW-ON QUESTIONS.)

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 170055

6. THE NEXT STEP IS FOR THE SECRETARY TO VISIT ARAB  
CAPITALS TO DISCUSS IN DETAIL THE MODALITIES FOR RE-  
CONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, INCLUDING NOT ONLY  
ISRAELI PROPOSAL BUT PROPOSALS ARAB GOVERNMENTS WILL  
HAVE AS WELL AS IDEAS OF OUR OWN.

7. WITH RESPECT TO THE LATTER, WE INITIATED WITH BEGIN  
A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE PRINCIPLES  
BASED BUT EXPANDING ON RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 WHICH  
MIGHT SUPPLEMENT THE PROCEDURAL FRAMEWORK AS PART OF AN  
AGREED BASIS FOR A RETURN TO GENEVA. WE WILL BE GIVING  
SOME MORE THOUGHT TO THE QUESTION OF A STATEMENT OF  
PRINCIPLES IN ORDER TO BE IN A POSITION TO DISCUSS  
THEM DURING THE SECRETARY'S TRIP. WE BELIEVE WE MADE  
SOME PROGRESS WITH THE ISRAELIS IN THIS REGARD EXCEPT  
ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION WHICH REMAINS A PRINCIPAL  
PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEM.

8. IN ADDITION TO MIDDLE EAST PEACE EFFORTS, WHICH WERE  
THE MAIN FOCUS OF OUR TALKS DURING THE BEGIN VISIT,  
THE PRESIDENT REITERATED VERY STRONGLY OUR CONCERN  
ABOUT ISRAEL'S POLICY OF ESTABLISHING SETTLEMENTS IN  
OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, POINTING OUT THAT CONTINUATION  
OF THIS ACTIVITY CAN POSE A MAJOR OBSTACLE TO NEGOTIATIONS.  
WE ALSO DISCUSSED LEBANESE SITUATION, URGING ISRAELI  
RESTRAINT AND STRESSING OUR SUPPORT FOR SARKIS GOVERNMENT  
INCLUDING HIS EFFORTS TO REESTABLISH LEBANESE ARMY  
WHICH CAN IN TIME HELP ESTABLISH HIS AUTHORITY THROUGHOUT  
COUNTRY AND BRING STABILITY IN PARTICULAR TO SOUTH  
LEBANON. ISRAELIS INDICATED AGREEMENT WITH OUR APPROACH  
WHILE EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER BUILD-UP OF PALESTINIAN  
FORCES IN SOUTH LEBANON.

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 170055

9. THERE WAS ALSO LIMITED DISCUSSION OF STRICTLY BILATERAL  
MATTERS AND BEGIN HAS ANNOUNCED THAT HE EXPECTS U.S.  
ANNOUNCEMENT LATER THIS WEEK ON SOME ADDITIONAL MILITARY  
SUPPLIES. AS HOST GOVERNMENTS WILL SEE, THESE CONSTITUTE  
NOTHING DRAMATIC AND REPRESENT DECISIONS ON SOME BUT NOT

ALL ISRAELI REQUESTS WHICH HAVE BEEN PENDING FOR SOME TIME.

10. WE CONCLUDED TALKS WITH BEGIN BY URGING ISRAEL, AS WE HAVE IN ARAB CAPITALS, TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN PUBLIC

STATEMENTS AND TO REMAIN OPENMINDED ON ALL THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES WHILE WE CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO MOVE TOWARD AN EARLY RECONVENING OF GENEVA CONFERENCE.

11. FYI. ONE OF OUR IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES IN BEGIN VISIT WAS TO BUILD ATMOSPHERE WHICH WILL HELP CONSOLIDATE SUPPORT IN OPINION HERE FOR ADMINISTRATION'S POLICIES TOWARD MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT IN OBVIOUSLY DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS WHICH LIE AHEAD AS WE TRY TO LAUNCH GENEVA CONFERENCE. WE DID NOT SEEK TO CONFRONT SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES AT THIS STAGE AND DO NOT INTEND IN PERIOD AHEAD TO REITERATE OUR VIEWS (E.G., ON BORDERS) PUBLICLY, BUT WE MADE CLEAR PRIVATELY THAT THEY REMAIN AS WE HAVE STATED THEM. IN BRIEF, WE BELIEVED THIS WAS A TIME TO EMPHASIZE THE POSITIVE, NOT THE DIFFERENCES, TO HELP BUILD PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENTUM--WHILE BOTH ISRAELIS AND WE RECOGNIZE THAT DIFFERENCES REMAIN. FOREGOING IS OBVIOUSLY OF SOME DELICACY, BUT I WANTED YOU TO HAVE OUR THINKING TO GUIDE YOU IN YOUR DISCUSSIONS AND TO DRAW ON DISCREETLY AS YOUR OWN INTERPRETATION. END FYI. VANCE

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 170055  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

DRAFTED BY S/S-O:AWOTTO

APPROVED BY S/S-O:AWOTTO

-----010511 210529Z /10

P 210503Z JUL 77 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 170055

NODIS

FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOL REPEAT STATE 170055 ACTION AMMAN CAIRO DAMASCUS JIDDA  
BEIRUT TELAVIV DTD 21 JUL.

QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 170055

NODIS  
FOR AMBASSADORS FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, US

SUBJECT: BEGIN VISIT

REF: STATE 168595

1. FOLLOWING IS FULLER REPORT ON BEGIN VISIT PROMISED  
REFTEL, WHICH YOU SHOULD CONVEY AT HIGHEST POSSIBLE LEVEL  
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 170055

TO HOST GOVERNMENTS.

2. AT THE BEGINNING OF THEIR TALKS, PRESIDENT CARTER  
REVIEWED IN DETAIL, ALONG LINES FAMILIAR TO HOST GOVERNMENTS,  
THE U.S. VIEWS ON THE THREE SUBSTANTIVE CORE ISSUES OF  
A MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT: THE NATURE OF PEACE; WITH-  
DRAWAL, FINAL BORDERS AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS; AND THE  
PALESTINIAN QUESTION. HE ALSO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF  
PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE TO OUR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS AND OUR  
DETERMINATION TO REMAIN ACTIVE IN OUR GOOD OFFICES ROLE.  
HE EMPHASIZED THAT OUR GOAL REMAINS A COMPREHENSIVE, FINAL  
PEACE SETTLEMENT. WHILE BEGIN DID NOT INDICATE ANY CHANGE  
IN ISRAEL'S POSITIONS ON THESE ISSUES, HE AGREED THAT ALL  
PARTIES COULD PUT FORWARD THEIR POSITIONS AT GENEVA AND  
THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM DISCUSSION. THE  
PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER RECOGNIZED THAT DIFFERENCES  
REMAIN BETWEEN OUR RESPECTIVE VIEWS ON THE TERRITORIAL AND  
PALESTINIAN QUESTIONS WHICH COULD NOT BE RESOLVED IN  
THESE TALKS BUT ALSO AGREED THAT THE IMPORTANT THING WAS  
TO GET A NEGOTIATING PROCESS STARTED IN WHICH THE PARTIES  
THEMSELVES COULD SEEK TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES. IN  
THE CONTEXT OF SUCH A PROCESS, THE U.S. WOULD CONTINUE  
ITS EFFORTS TO HELP THE PARTIES REACH AGREEMENT.

3. BEGIN FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON DESCRIBING ISRAELI PROPOSAL  
WHICH HE CALLED A FRAMEWORK FOR THE PEACEMAKING PROCESS  
BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS AND WHICH HE SUBSEQUENTLY  
DISCUSSED IN DETAIL IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE WEDNESDAY  
AFTERNOON. AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY INDICATED, THIS IS A  
PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL. IT ENVISAGES RECONVENING GENEVA  
PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE BASIS OF RESOLUTIONS 338 AND  
242 WITH PARTICIPANTS TO CONSIST OF DELEGATIONS OF THE  
SOVEREIGN STATES OF ISRAEL, EGYPT, SYRIA AND JORDAN.  
SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 170055

BEGIN SAID IF THERE WERE A PROPOSAL FOR LEBANON TO JOIN CONFERENCE, ISRAEL WOULD AGREE. HE ALSO SAID ISRAEL WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO TO GENEVA OCTOBER 10, 1977. THE CONFERENCE WOULD BE CONVENED WITHOUT PRIOR CONDITIONS AND, AFTER AN OPENING PUBLIC SESSION, THREE "MIXED COMMISSIONS" WOULD BE ESTABLISHED: AN EGYPTIAN-ISRAEL, SYRIAN-ISRAELI, AND JORDANIAN-ISRAELI COMMISSION. THE COMMISSIONS, WHOSE CHAIRMANSHIP WOULD BE ROTATED BETWEEN THE TWO PARTICIPATING PARTIES, WOULD NEGOTIATE PEACE TREATIES WHICH WOULD SUBSEQUENTLY BE SIGNED IN A PUBLIC SESSION OF THE PLENARY CONFERENCE.

4. BEGIN MADE CLEAR THAT IF THE CONFERENCE COULD NOT BE CONVENED BECAUSE OF INSISTENCE THAT THE PLO BE ADDED TO THE SOVEREIGN STATE DELEGATIONS AND ISRAEL'S REFUSAL TO AGREE TO THIS, THEN ISRAEL WAS PREPARED TO RECONSIDER ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF NEGOTIATING -- E.G., ESTABLISHING THE THREE MIXED COMMISSIONS THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE U.S., OR HOLDING "PROXIMITY TALKS" FOR THE CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS.

5. WE TOLD BEGIN WE WELCOMED ISRAEL'S DECLARED INTENTION TO BEGIN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 FOR AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT. AT THE SAME TIME WE MADE NO COMMITMENT TO NOR DID WE ENDORSE THE DETAILS OF BEGIN'S PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL, AND THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT TO HIM THAT THE DIFFERING ARAB AND ISRAELI VIEWS ON PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION REMAIN AN OBSTACLE WHICH WE MUST SEEK TO OVERCOME. AT THE SAME TIME, THE PRESIDENT PUBLICLY EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THESE TALKS AND HIS EARLIER MEETINGS WITH ARAB LEADERS HAD HELPED LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR RECONVENING GENEVA IN OCTOBER BUT THAT DIFFICULTIES REMAINED WHICH WOULD NEED TO BE

DEALT WITH DURING SECRETARY'S FORTHCOMING MIDDLE EAST TRIP. (SEE WIRELESS FILE FOR PRESIDENT'S REMARKS TO SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 170055

PRESS FOLLOWING MEETING WITH BEGIN WEDNESDAY MORNING AND WHITE HOUSE PRESS SPOKESMAN'S SUBSEQUENT RESPONSES TO FOLLOW-ON QUESTIONS.)

6. THE NEXT STEP IS FOR THE SECRETARY TO VISIT ARAB CAPITALS TO DISCUSS IN DETAIL THE MODALITIES FOR RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, INCLUDING NOT ONLY ISRAELI PROPOSAL BUT PROPOSALS ARAB GOVERNMENTS WILL HAVE AS WELL AS IDEAS OF OUR OWN.

7. WITH RESPECT TO THE LATTER, WE INITIATED WITH BEGIN A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE PRINCIPLES BASED BUT EXPANDING ON RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 WHICH

MIGHT SUPPLEMENT THE PROCEDURAL FRAMEWORK AS PART OF AN AGREED BASIS FOR A RETURN TO GENEVA. WE WILL BE GIVING SOME MORE THOUGHT TO THE QUESTION OF A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES IN ORDER TO BE IN A POSITION TO DISCUSS THEM DURING THE SECRETARY'S TRIP. WE BELIEVE WE MADE SOME PROGRESS WITH THE ISRAELIS IN THIS REGARD EXCEPT ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION WHICH REMAINS A PRINCIPAL PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEM.

8. IN ADDITION TO MIDDLE EAST PEACE EFFORTS, WHICH WERE THE MAIN FOCUS OF OUR TALKS DURING THE BEGIN VISIT, THE PRESIDENT REITERATED VERY STRONGLY OUR CONCERN ABOUT ISRAEL'S POLICY OF ESTABLISHING SETTLEMENTS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, POINTING OUT THAT CONTINUATION OF THIS ACTIVITY CAN POSE A MAJOR OBSTACLE TO NEGOTIATIONS. WE ALSO DISCUSSED LEBANESE SITUATION, URGING ISRAELI RESTRAINT AND STRESSING OUR SUPPORT FOR SARKIS GOVERNMENT INCLUDING HIS EFFORTS TO REESTABLISH LEBANESE ARMY WHICH CAN IN TIME HELP ESTABLISH HIS AUTHORITY THROUGHOUT COUNTRY AND BRING STABILITY IN PARTICULAR TO SOUTH  
SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 170055

LEBANON. ISRAELIS INDICATED AGREEMENT WITH OUR APPROACH WHILE EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER BUILD-UP OF PALESTINIAN FORCES IN SOUTH LEBANON.

9. THERE WAS ALSO LIMITED DISCUSSION OF STRICTLY BILATERAL MATTERS AND BEGIN HAS ANNOUNCED THAT HE EXPECTS U.S. ANNOUNCEMENT LATER THIS WEEK ON SOME ADDITIONAL MILITARY SUPPLIES. AS HOST GOVERNMENTS WILL SEE, THESE CONSTITUTE NOTHING DRAMATIC AND REPRESENT DECISIONS ON SOME BUT NOT ALL ISRAELI REQUESTS WHICH HAVE BEEN PENDING FOR SOME TIME.

10. WE CONCLUDED TALKS WITH BEGIN BY URGING ISRAEL, AS WE HAVE IN ARAB CAPITALS, TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN PUBLIC

STATEMENTS AND TO REMAIN OPENMINDED ON ALL THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES WHILE WE CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO MOVE TOWARD AN EARLY RECONVENING OF GENEVA CONFERENCE.

11. FYI. ONE OF OUR IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES IN BEGIN VISIT WAS TO BUILD ATMOSPHERE WHICH WILL HELP CONSOLIDATE SUPPORT IN OPINION HERE FOR ADMINISTRATION'S POLICIES TOWARD MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT IN OBVIOUSLY DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS WHICH LIE AHEAD AS WE TRY TO LAUNCH GENEVA CONFERENCE. WE DID NOT SEEK TO CONFRONT SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES AT THIS STAGE AND DO NOT INTEND IN PERIOD AHEAD TO REITERATE OUR VIEWS (E.G., ON BORDERS) PUBLICLY, BUT WE MADE CLEAR PRIVATELY THAT THEY REMAIN AS WE HAVE STATED THEM. IN BRIEF, WE BELIEVED THIS WAS A TIME TO EMPHASIZE THE POSITIVE, NOT THE DIFFERENCES, TO HELP

BUILD PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENTUM--WHILE BOTH ISRAELIS AND WE  
RECOGNIZE THAT DIFFERENCES REMAIN. FOREGOING IS OBVIOUSLY  
OF SOME DELICACY, BUT I WANTED YOU TO HAVE OUR THINKING  
TO GUIDE YOU IN YOUR DISCUSSIONS AND TO DRAW ON DISCREETLY  
AS YOUR OWN INTERPRETATION. END FYI. VANCE

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 170055

UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 170055  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:D-DBRIZILL: EDH

APPROVED BY: D-DOROTHY BRIZILL

S/S-O: TGMARTIN

-----019726 211706Z /42

O 211620Z JUL 77 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 170055

NODIS

EYES ONLY FOR THE DEPUTY SECRETARY FROM BRIZILL

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 170055 TO AMMAN CAIRO DAMASCUS JIDDA  
BEIRUT TELAVIV DTD 21 JUL

QUOTES E C R E T STATE 170055

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADORS FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, US

SUBJECT: BEGIN VISIT

REF: STATE 168595

1. FOLLOWING IS FULLER REPORT ON BEGIN VISIT PROMISED  
REFTEL, WHICH YOU SHOULD CONVEY AT HIGHEST POSSIBLE LEVEL  
TO HOST GOVERNMENTS.

SECRET



PAGE 02 STATE 170055

2. AT THE BEGINNING OF THEIR TALKS, PRESIDENT CARTER REVIEWED IN DETAIL, ALONG LINES FAMILIAR TO HOST GOVERNMENTS, THE U.S. VIEWS ON THE THREE SUBSTANTIVE CORE ISSUES OF A MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT: THE NATURE OF PEACE; WITHDRAWAL, FINAL BORDERS AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS; AND THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION. HE ALSO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE TO OUR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS AND OUR DETERMINATION TO REMAIN ACTIVE IN OUR GOOD OFFICES ROLE. HE EMPHASIZED THAT OUR GOAL REMAINS A COMPREHENSIVE, FINAL PEACE SETTLEMENT. WHILE BEGIN DID NOT INDICATE ANY CHANGE IN ISRAEL'S POSITIONS ON THESE ISSUES, HE AGREED THAT ALL PARTIES COULD PUT FORWARD THEIR POSITIONS AT GENEVA AND THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM DISCUSSION. THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER RECOGNIZED THAT DIFFERENCES REMAIN BETWEEN OUR RESPECTIVE VIEWS ON THE TERRITORIAL AND PALESTINIAN QUESTIONS WHICH COULD NOT BE RESOLVED IN THESE TALKS BUT ALSO AGREED THAT THE IMPORTANT THING WAS TO GET A NEGOTIATING PROCESS STARTED IN WHICH THE PARTIES THEMSELVES COULD SEEK TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES. IN THE CONTEXT OF SUCH A PROCESS, THE U.S. WOULD CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS TO HELP THE PARTIES REACH AGREEMENT.

3. BEGIN FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON DESCRIBING ISRAELI PROPOSAL WHICH HE CALLED A FRAMEWORK FOR THE PEACEMAKING PROCESS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS AND WHICH HE SUBSEQUENTLY DISCUSSED IN DETAIL IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON. AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY INDICATED, THIS IS A PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL. IT ENVISAGES RECONVENING GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE BASIS OF RESOLUTIONS 338 AND 242 WITH PARTICIPANTS TO CONSIST OF DELEGATIONS OF THE SOVEREIGN STATES OF ISRAEL, EGYPT, SYRIA AND JORDAN. BEGIN SAID IF THERE WERE A PROPOSAL FOR LEBANON TO  
SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 170055

JOIN CONFERENCE, ISRAEL WOULD AGREE. HE ALSO SAID ISRAEL WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO TO GENEVA OCTOBER 10, 1977. THE CONFERENCE WOULD BE CONVENED WITHOUT PRIOR CONDITIONS AND, AFTER AN OPENING PUBLIC SESSION, THREE "MIXED COMMISSIONS" WOULD BE ESTABLISHED: AN EGYPTIAN-ISRAEL, SYRIAN-ISRAELI, AND JORDANIAN-ISRAELI COMMISSION. THE COMMISSIONS, WHOSE CHAIRMANSHIP WOULD BE ROTATED BETWEEN THE TWO PARTICIPATING PARTIES, WOULD NEGOTIATE PEACE TREATIES WHICH WOULD SUBSEQUENTLY BE SIGNED IN A PUBLIC SESSION OF THE PLENARY CONFERENCE.

4. BEGIN MADE CLEAR THAT IF THE CONFERENCE COULD NOT BE CONVENED BECAUSE OF INSISTENCE THAT THE PLO BE ADDED TO THE SOVEREIGN STATE DELEGATIONS AND ISRAEL'S REFUSAL TO AGREE TO THIS, THEN ISRAEL WAS PREPARED TO RECONSIDER

ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF NEGOTIATING -- E.G., ESTABLISHING THE THREE MIXED COMMISSIONS THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE U.S., OR HOLDING "PROXIMITY TALKS" FOR THE CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS.

5. WE TOLD BEGIN WE WELCOMED ISRAEL'S DECLARED INTENTION TO BEGIN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 FOR AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT. AT THE SAME TIME WE MADE NO COMMITMENT TO NOR DID WE ENDORSE THE DETAILS OF BEGIN'S PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL, AND THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT TO HIM THAT THE DIFFERING ARAB AND ISRAELI VIEWS ON PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION REMAIN AN OBSTACLE WHICH WE MUST SEEK TO OVERCOME. AT THE SAME TIME, THE PRESIDENT PUBLICLY EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THESE TALKS AND HIS EARLIER MEETINGS WITH ARAB LEADERS HAD HELPED LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR RECONVENING GENEVA IN OCTOBER BUT THAT DIFFICULTIES REMAINED WHICH WOULD NEED TO BE

DEALT WITH DURING SECRETARY'S FORTHCOMING MIDDLE EAST TRIP. (SEE WIRELESS FILE FOR PRESIDENT'S REMARKS TO PRESS FOLLOWING MEETING WITH BEGIN WEDNESDAY MORNING AND SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 170055

WHITE HOUSE PRESS SPOKESMAN'S SUBSEQUENT RESPONSES TO FOLLOW-ON QUESTIONS.)

6. THE NEXT STEP IS FOR THE SECRETARY TO VISIT ARAB CAPITALS TO DISCUSS IN DETAIL THE MODALITIES FOR RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, INCLUDING NOT ONLY ISRAELI PROPOSAL BUT PROPOSALS ARAB GOVERNMENTS WILL HAVE AS WELL AS IDEAS OF OUR OWN.

7. WITH RESPECT TO THE LATTER, WE INITIATED WITH BEGIN A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE PRINCIPLES BASED BUT EXPANDING ON RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 WHICH MIGHT SUPPLEMENT THE PROCEDURAL FRAMEWORK AS PART OF AN AGREED BASIS FOR A RETURN TO GENEVA. WE WILL BE GIVING SOME MORE THOUGHT TO THE QUESTION OF A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES IN ORDER TO BE IN A POSITION TO DISCUSS THEM DURING THE SECRETARY'S TRIP. WE BELIEVE WE MADE SOME PROGRESS WITH THE ISRAELIS IN THIS REGARD EXCEPT ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION WHICH REMAINS A PRINCIPAL PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEM.

8. IN ADDITION TO MIDDLE EAST PEACE EFFORTS, WHICH WERE THE MAIN FOCUS OF OUR TALKS DURING THE BEGIN VISIT, THE PRESIDENT REITERATED VERY STRONGLY OUR CONCERN ABOUT ISRAEL'S POLICY OF ESTABLISHING SETTLEMENTS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, POINTING OUT THAT CONTINUATION OF THIS ACTIVITY CAN POSE A MAJOR OBSTACLE TO NEGOTIATIONS. WE ALSO DISCUSSED LEBANESE SITUATION, URGING ISRAELI RESTRAINT AND STRESSING OUR SUPPORT FOR SARKIS GOVERNMENT

INCLUDING HIS EFFORTS TO REESTABLISH LEBANESE ARMY  
WHICH CAN IN TIME HELP ESTABLISH HIS AUTHORITY THROUGHOUT  
COUNTRY AND BRING STABILITY IN PARTICULAR TO SOUTH  
LEBANON. ISRAELIS INDICATED AGREEMENT WITH OUR APPROACH  
SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 170055

WHILE EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER BUILD-UP OF PALESTINIAN  
FORCES IN SOUTH LEBANON.

9. THERE WAS ALSO LIMITED DISCUSSION OF STRICTLY BILATERAL  
MATTERS AND BEGIN HAS ANNOUNCED THAT HE EXPECTS U.S.  
ANNOUNCEMENT LATER THIS WEEK ON SOME ADDITIONAL MILITARY  
SUPPLIES. AS HOST GOVERNMENTS WILL SEE, THESE CONSTITUTE  
NOTHING DRAMATIC AND REPRESENT DECISIONS ON SOME BUT NOT  
ALL ISRAELI REQUESTS WHICH HAVE BEEN PENDING FOR SOME  
TIME.

10. WE CONCLUDED TALKS WITH BEGIN BY URGING ISRAEL, AS WE  
HAVE IN ARAB CAPITALS, TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN PUBLIC

STATEMENTS AND TO REMAIN OPENMINDED ON ALL THE OUTSTANDING  
ISSUES WHILE WE CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO MOVE TOWARD AN  
EARLY RECONVENING OF GENEVA CONFERENCE.

11. FYI. ONE OF OUR IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES IN BEGIN VISIT  
WAS TO BUILD ATMOSPHERE WHICH WILL HELP CONSOLIDATE  
SUPPORT IN OPINION HERE FOR ADMINISTRATION'S POLICIES  
TOWARD MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT IN OBVIOUSLY DIFFICULT  
NEGOTIATIONS WHICH LIE AHEAD AS WE TRY TO LAUNCH GENEVA  
CONFERENCE. WE DID NOT SEEK TO CONFRONT SUBSTANTIVE  
DIFFERENCES AT THIS STAGE AND DO NOT INTEND IN PERIOD  
AHEAD TO REITERATE OUR VIEWS (E.G., ON BORDERS) PUBLICLY,  
BUT WE MADE CLEAR PRIVATELY THAT THEY REMAIN AS WE HAVE  
STATED THEM. IN BRIEF, WE BELIEVED THIS WAS A TIME TO  
EMPHASIZE THE POSITIVE, NOT THE DIFFERENCES, TO HELP  
BUILD PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENTUM--WHILE BOTH ISRAELIS AND WE  
RECOGNIZE THAT DIFFERENCES REMAIN. FOREGOING IS OBVIOUSLY  
OF SOME DELICACY, BUT I WANTED YOU TO HAVE OUR THINKING  
TO GUIDE YOU IN YOUR DISCUSSIONS AND TO DRAW ON DISCREETLY  
AS YOUR OWN INTERPRETATION. END FYI. VANCE

UNQUOTE VANCE UNQUOTE VANCE  
SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 170055

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PALESTINIANS, BRIEFING MATERIALS, PEACE PLANS, TERRITORIAL CLAIMS,  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 21-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977STATE170055  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** NEA:ALATHERTON, JR./HLK  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** 11652 GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** P840084-1889  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t197707105/baaaethl.tel  
**Line Count:** 591  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 18eef662-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 11  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** STATE 168595  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 10-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1725854  
**Secure:** LOCK1  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** BEGIN VISIT  
**TAGS:** PBOR, MOPS, XF, IS, US, (CARTER, JIMMY), (BEGIN, MENACHEM)  
**To:** AMMAN CAIRO MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/18eef662-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009